Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 IO-13 EURE-00 OMB-01 EB-08 /086 W

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O R 111640Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2040
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE
INFO USCINCEUR
USNMR SHAPE

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1387

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: MARR, NATO

SUBJECT: INFRASTRUCTURE CELING INCREASE

REF: (A) USNATO 1296, (DTG 091053Z MAR 77), (B) USNATO 1102, (DTG 011746Z MAR 77), (C) USNATO 1035, (DTG 251631Z FEB 77, (D) 76 STATE 255309

SUMMARY. SYG LUNS IS CALLING A SPECIAL MEETING OF PERM REPS PLUS ONE ON 16 MAR 77 TO CONSIDER AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS A STOP-GAP SOLUTION WHICH WOULD INVOLVE ACCEPTANCE OF NATIONAL COMMITMENTS TO AN INFRASTRUCTURE FUND AUGMENTATION AT THE LEVELS PREVIOUSLY OFFERED (REF B). WE BELIEVE THE IDEA HAS SERIOUS DEFECTS AND RECOMMEND AGAINST IT. GUIDANCE REQUESTED BY COB 15 MARCH 1977. END SUMMARY.

1. AS REPORTED PARA 3 REF A, LUNS SUGGESTED TO PERM REPS AT THEIR REGULAR LUNCHEON 8 MARCH 77 THAT THEY MEETING CONFIDENTIAL

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PRIVATELY (PERM REPS PLUS ONE) TO DISCUSS THE CURRENT STATUS OF INFRASTRUCTURE AND THE MILITARY REQUEST FOR A CEILING INCREASE. THERE WAS SOME IMPLICATION THAT LUNS MIGHT WISH TO PROPOSE SPECIAL MEASURES AND THIS MAY, INDEED, BE THE CASE.

2. IN SUBSEQUENT CORRIDOR DISCUSSION MISSION STAFF WERE ABLE TO PIECE TOGETHER THE ELEMENTS OF WHAT MIGHT BE A RADICAL PROPOSAL BY LUNS. AS OF NOW, 10 COUNTRIES HAVE GIVEN MORE OR LESS SPECIFIC AGREEMENT TO CONTRIBUTE THEIR

SHARE OF AT LEAST IAU 241 MILLION. BASED ON THE POSITIONS OF MOST COUNTRIES AT THE DECEMBER 1976 MINISTERIAL, THE BEST FINAL FIGURE WOULD PROBABLY BE IAU 241 MILLION INCLUDING US SPECIAL PROGRAM (USSP) AND 10 PCT CONTINGENCIES. DENMARK HAS RECENT INCREASED ITS COMMITMENT FROM ITS SHARE OF IAU 110 MILLION TO ITS SHARE OF IAU 140 MILLION. ALTHOUGH BELGIUM AGREED TO SHARE IN THE INCREASE, IT HAS NOT COMMITTED ITSELF TO A FIGURE AND THE INTERNAL DEBATE BETWEEN THE MOD AND MINISTRY OF FINANCE MAY NOW BE IMPEDED BY THE FALL OF THE TINEMANNS GOVERNMENT. ITALY IS THE ONLY COUNTRY NOT HAVING AGREED TO SHARE IN THE INCREASE. AND WE HAVE HAD PRACTICALLY NO INFORMATION THROUGH INFRA-STRUCTURE COMMITTEE OR OTHER CHANNELS ON DEVELOPMENTS IN ROME FOR THE PAST MONTH. IN THE FACE OF THIS APPARENT IMPASSE, LUNS MAY SUGGEST TO PERM REPS THAT NATO ACCEPT WHAT HAS BEEN (OR HAS NOT BEEN) OFFERED BY THE INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND NOT WIAT FOR THE FOOTDRAGGERS.

3. THE SPECIFICS AS WE UNDERSTAND THEM ARE THAT 10 COUNTRIES WOULD CONTIBUTE THEIR NORMAL SHARE PEGGED TO A LEVEL OF IAU 241 MILLION, AND BELGIUM AND ITALY WOULD BE ASKED TO JOIN DENMARK IN CONTRIBUTING THEIR NORMAL SHARE PEGGED TO A LEVEL OF IAU 140 MILLION. AS WE CALCULATE IT, THE PROPOSAL WOULD COME WITHIN ABOUT IQU 17 MILLION OF PRODUCING THE GROSS TOTAL OF IQU 241 MILLION. ON THE FACE OF IT THIS MIGHT APPEAR AS A PRAGMATIC WAY TO BREAK THE IMPASSE AND CONFIDENTIAL.

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MAINTAIN INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM MOMENTUM; IT HAS BEEN FRUSTRATING AND FOR THE 10 COUNTRIES SUPPORTING A LEVEL OF IAU 241 MILLION TO SEE THE EFFORT STALLED BY THREE WHOSE COST CHARES REPRESENT ABOUT 13 PCT OF THE TOTAL.

4. THE PROPOSAL NEVERTHELESS HAS SERIOUS AND, WE BELIEVE, FATAL DEFECTS. IN GENERAL, THE NATO INFRASTRUCTURE PROGRAM OPERATES ON THE "CONVOY PRINCIPLE" (MOVING AT SPEED OF SLOWEST MEMBER) BECAUSE IT IS THE ONLY WAY TO PROTECT NATIONAL PREROGATIVES AND PRESERVE THE DELICATE BALANCE OF OBLIGATIONS AND BENEFITS. WE DO NOT BELIEVE THE ALLIES WOULD, OR SHOULD, DEPART FROM THIS PRINCIPLE NOW. THE MOST IMPORTANT DEFECTS THAT WE SEE IN THE PROPOSAL ARE:

A) BREACHING OF THE CURRENT 5-YEAR COST-SHARING AGREEMENT BY PERMITTING SOME NATIONS TO CONTRIBUTE THEIR NORMAL PERCENTAGE SHARE OF A SMALLER TOTAL. WE EXPECT OTHER NATIONS TO HAVE THE SAME PROBLEM THAT THE USG WOULD HAVE WITH CONGRESS (REF D).

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B) CREATING POTENTIAL POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES
FOR GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE, LIKE THE UK, STRAINED NATIONAL
RESOURCES IN ORDER TO SUPPORT THE COMMON EFFORT.
BEYOND THESE PREDICTABLE RESULTS IT IS ALSO LIKELY THAT
THE FAVORED PARTIES (DENMARK, BELGIUM, ITALY) WILL
THEMSELVES OBJECT TO THEIR EFFECTIVE EXCLUSION FROM THE
FINAL DECISION ON THE INCREASE. THE RULE OF UNANIMITY
IS A WEAPON JEALOUSLY GUARDED BY EVERY COUNTRY AND
THIS PROPOSED DEPARTURE COULD BE VIEWED AS AN UNDESIRABLE
PRECEDENT.

5. THE US HAS TAKEN A STRONG LEAD IN NATO CONSIDERATION OF THE MILITARY REQUEST. WE DISLIKE BEING BEARISH ON THIS NEW PROPOSAL BUT WE CANNOT, ON THE OTHER HAND, AFFORD TO IGNORE THE POSSIBLE LONG-TERM COST OF THIS SHORT-TERM GAIN. HOWEVER BUREAUCRATIC THE INFRASTRUCTURE GROUND RULES AND PRINCIPLES MAY SEEM, THEY ARE THE FIBER THAT HAS HELD TOGETHER THIS UNIQUE COMMON CONFIDENTIAL.

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EFFORT IN THE FACE OF STRAINS AS SEVERE AS THE LOSS OF FRANCE AND THE RESULTING MASSIVE RELOCATION OF US AND NATO FACILITIES

6. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE PRIVATE MEETING AMBASSADOR REAFFIRM UP SUPPORT FOR THE FULL MILITARY REQUEST OR AS MUCH AS ALL NATIONS ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT AS AN ADD-ON FIGURE AT CURRENT COST-SHARING PERCENTAGES, DRAWING ON PAREAS 4 AND 5 AS NECESSARY AND APPROPIRIATE.

ACTION REQUESTED: APPROVAL OF RECOMMENDED US POSTURE IN THE PERM REPS' SPECIAL MEETING ON 16 MAY 77. STRAUSZ-HUPE

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77), (C) USNATO 1035, (DTG 251631Z FEB